XXIX

A Copy of a

LETTER;

Written to one of the Members of Parliament now ſitting: Wherein is contained a ſerious reflection, upon the fallacies and diſingeniouſneſs of the Army, in their ſeven Unalterable Fundamentals, *lately publiſhed. As alſo a ſeaſonable Caution to all Governours, for their better ſecuring themſelves and the Nation, from being made any more a prey to the luſts and will of the Army, and their Adherents.*

SIR,

HAving lately peruſed thoſe few Principles, agreed on (as it was ſaid) by the Generall Councill of Officers, and publiſhed for the people's view, under the Title of, *Vnalterable Fundamentals*; I thought it my duty, as a Member of this Common-wealth, to give in my ſenſe hereof, together with theſe Cautions following. Providence having ſo ordered it, (I hope for the beſt) that after this ſecond, and therefore moſt ſhamefull defection of one part of the Army, you are now in a hopefull way of being eſtabliſhed, in that fulneſs of power you have laid claim to, and I hope will improve, through grace, to the eſtabliſhment of the Laws of God and the Nation, and the vindication of the people from Oppreſſion and Tyranny. For God having done ſo much in mercy for you, it is now in the expectation of all men, what you in duty will do for him and his people.

Before I come to the Fundamentalls here mentioned, I ſhall premiſe this Quærie touching the Authors thereof, Whether they are not the unfitteſt men to be makers of unalterable Fundamentalls, that have been the greateſt

Breakers of Fundamentalls themſelves, and ſuch too as were thought as Unalterable, as both by the conſent of the People, and the Wiſdom and authority of Governours, could be effected.

1. The firſt particular agreed on, for an unalterable Fundamentall, is, *That there ſhall be no Kingſhip exerciſed in theſe Nations.* But becauſe I know not how to anſwer Tautoligies, I ſhall joyn this, and the Propoſition following together, *viz.*

2. *That they will not have any ſingle Perſon, to exerciſe the Office of chief Magiſtrate in theſe Nations.* For what is Kingſhip, but a ſingle Perſon exerciſing the Office of chief Magiſtrate in theſe Nations; and if there be no ſingle Perſon, there can be no King. To theſe two then I anſwer, It is not the Formall part in the word, *King*, or in that ſingle number, *One*, which hath been ſo long engaged againſt; but the Subſtantiall part, in that latitude of Power, and Arbitraines of Government, the Spirit and life of Tyranny; which, be it in one, or in two, or in twenty, is the ſame burden and oppreſſion, to the free-born people of this Common-wealth. Monarchy being rejected and laid aſide, rather as an opportunity and fitneſs for Tyranny to ſeat it ſelf in, than as Tyranny it ſelf; which doubtleſs may be found in any form, which is fartheſt diſtant from it, where Perſons are corrupt, and Laws be defective.

3. *That an Army may be continued, and be conducted, ſo as it may ſecure the Peace of theſe Nations; and not be disbanded, nor the Conduct thereof altered, but by conſent of the ſaid Conſervators appointed.* I anſwer, That foraſmuch as Authority of it ſelf is but a name, and meer formall thing, without the ſoul and ſpirit of Government, which is ſtrength to compell, whatſoever Authority ſhall command. Therefore I muſt aſſert theſe two Poſitions, as unalterable Maxims.

1. That the Parliament, which is owned as the Supream Authority of the Nation; and their Army, which, in truth, is the ſtrength and ſinues of this Authority, muſt be ſo much one, as that the Army, out of that intereſt and influence which the Parliament hath over it, by way

way of neceſſity, muſt acknowledge and yield up thereunto the right, of giving definitive ſentence, and power of juding what is fit and reaſonable, for the people of this Nation, uſurped of late by part of the Army, and their Adherants.

2. This muſt be done ſo really, without any more contradiction or oppoſition, than any private man, who is not of the Army, ſhall uſe, in his own behalfe, who is onely paſſive herein. Otherwiſe, to own any Supream Power above the Army, is a groſs contradiction.

That no impoſition may be upon the conſciences of them, that fear God. This, becauſe it is unalterable, it hath need to be more fully and plainly expreſſed; that is to ſay, That no impoſition ſhall be upon the conſciences of thoſe, whom the Supream Authority ſhall adjudge to fear God, and not what the Army ſhall determine herein. 4.

That their be no Houſe of Peers. Obſerve what care is taken, to make up their Fundamentalls of words onely, that they may keep themſelves looſe in the things themſelves. It is not another Houſe they reſolve againſt, but a Houſe of Peers: 'Tis a Houſe of Lords, forſooth, and not a Houſe ſhall Lord it over us, that they will venture for ever to declare againſt. As long as they will not have a Houſe of Peers, although they have the ſame, and far greater power exerciſed in other perſons, and names, 'tis ſufficient and fair enough. 5.

That the Legiſlative and Executive Powers ſhall be diſtinct, and not in the ſame hands. That any may ſee of what mettle their Fundamentalls are made of. This Sixth Propoſition hath broken the neck of the Fifth already; for there, they declare againſt a Houſe of Peers, and yet here, they ſay, they will have another Aſſembly diſtinct from the Parliament; to whom, if you give no more power than the Houſe of Peers had, then are they as needleſs as you * Voted the Houſe of Peers to be: If you give them more power than the Houſe of Peers had, then what becomes of your priviledges of Parliament? Then let me tell you, Your Rump (as they call it) is not worth a———— 6.

* March 19. 1648. *An Act for aboliſhing the Houſe of Peers.*

That both the Aſſemblies of the Parliament ſhall be elected by the people of this Common-wealth, duly qualified. The Army ſhould have made one Fundamentall more, that is to ſay, 7.

That the Army ſhould be for ever deemed, the onely duly qualified people of this Common-wealth; and then the next Fundamentall comes in plainly and ſincerely, without any fraud or jugling, *viz. That both the Aſſemblies of the Paliament ſhall be elected by the people of this Common-wealth, duly qualified*; that is to ſay, with Red-coats, Muskets, Swords, and Pikes. Otherwiſe, we have great cauſe to fear, that they who have ſo long aſſumed this Title, as peculiar to themſelves, will never diſclaim it at the election of Parliaments.

Now, Sir, Fearing that Party, which hath ſo ſhamefully fallen away from you, hath yet too great an intereſt in many perſons among you; yea, ſeeing daily ſo many of them, as to outward appearance, admitted into grace and favour with the Parliament, and thorough the careleſneſſe of ſome, into places of chiefeſt truſt in this Common-wealth, I cannot but give you, as already a brief account of their *unalterable Fundamentalls*, ſo now, likewiſe a ſhort and ſeaſonable Caution for your future dealing with them.

It is no leſſe wiſe, then old ſaying, Firſt try, and then truſt; God hath given you a fair triall, both of your Friends and Enemies, if you make not aright advantage, Deſtruction will come upon you without pitty.

Take notice, there are many now, will come in unto you daily, compelled by neceſſity, not affection, who will by conſequence no longer remain with you, then that bond of neceſſity latteth; Be well adviſed, concerning thoſe that have appeared againſt you, though now they cry you up never ſo loud, 'tis to do themſelves good, and not you, that they now carry a face of friendſhip towards you.

They will now be treating with you a pace, but treat with no more then you muſt needs; You are now able to ſtand upon your owne leggs, it will engage the Nation the more for you, the leſſe you comply with the Enemies of their Peace, their Religion, their Laws, and their Liberty: beſides, by this means you pay the Defected party all their Arrears, without putting the Nation to any further charge, which wil be accounted as a juſt puniſhment upon them, who have interrupted you; and in you a fatherly care, and provident reſpect to the purſes of the People, (ſo much already exhauſted)

ſted) which they will draw the freelier, (as being the better able) to pay off all thoſe that have been inſtruments of your re-eſtabliſhment; Remember what Principles they are of, and then conſider, what faith they are like to keep with you.

As firſt, they do affirm, *That Lawes, Acts, and Statutes, are binding or not binding, as they appear to the Army, to relate or conduce to common and publick right or wrong*, pag. 3. vid. *Army's Plea for their preſent Practiſe*

2. *They abſolve the Common-wealth from their obligations to your Laws, which they ſhall adjudge to be deſtructive to their intereſt and advantage*, ibid.

3. *That as all Lawes, Statutes, Acts, and Ordinances; ſo all Covenants, Engagements, Promiſes, and Proteſtations; all Acknowledgments, Subſcriptions, Vows, and Oaths; all and all manner of Obligations and Expreſſions thereof, are onely binding unto the Publick ſafety, not at all to the perſons of Governours, or Governments, but with reference thereunto.* Of which Publick ſafety, theſe men have affirmed, *That it belongs to themſelves, whom they call the People, and not to the Parliament, who are their Governours, to judge of*, which their late proceedings do ſufficiently teſtifie. *pag.* 4.

4. *That the Souldiery may lawfully hold the hands of their Generall, if they ſhall ſay, he turns the Canon againſt them*; though it appear to their Generall, and all the world beſides, he doth not ſo, *pag.* 6.

5. *That it is no reſiſtance of Magiſtracy, for an Army to preſerve the publick, naturall, and undoubted rights of the People, againſt their lawfull Magiſtrates*, pag. 6.

6. *That they ought not to deliver the Sword out of their hands, for the ſacrificing of that cauſe, which God, by his Providence, hath put into their hands, for its protection and defence*, pag. 23.

7. *That the making of an inconditionate Promiſe and Engagement, is ſin; and that the keeping of it is ſin alſo*, pag. 24.

8. *That the Parliament are not proper Judges of what is convenient to be done for common intereſt, in the caſe of the Souldiery, but that common intereſt muſt be the onely judge*, pag. 26.

9. *That though in other caſes you are the onely Judges, as in that of* Sir George Booth; *yet, in their caſes, you are not to be Judges, as in that of the nine Officers of the Army*, pag. 27.

10. *That*

10. *That by a Parliament must be meant the Major part of a Parliament, and not the Minor*, pag. 28.

11. *That they may as well be Judges to turn you out of the House, as they were allowed to be Judges, to turn the Major part out before*, pag. 29.

12. And lastly, I shall cite you this one more out of their Declaration, *Octob.* 27. 1659. viz. *That the People, by electing Members to represent them in Parliament, had cut that Knot with their own Sword, which by no other waies was capable to be dissolved or broken.*

Out of this brief Collection, you may easily inform your selfe, what obedience they are like to give, what faith they are like to keep, and what safety you are like to have among this disobedient, and faithlesse crew of Mutiners; who owning no other Law then their owne Will, no other power then their owne Sword, will never become subject to the Lawes of the Nation, or the sword of the Magistrate, untill the body of them shall be dissolved into their first Principalls.

Nor can I think, I leave you safe here, without putting you in mind of those their adherents, whom they call the Sectaries; These indeed are the men, have effected your interruption more then any, opposing your *Principles* as much as your *Power*. Who thorough some men's Carelesnesse, and their own Diligence, have crept unawares into the most considerable places, both of Trust, and Power in these Nations; And who could not but read your Destiny, that beheld this over-sight in you. Grow wise, then by Experience, and Remember to put those into places of Trust and Power, that are of your owne principles; This is your Duty, your Honour, your Safety, your Interest. And you have good reason to believe, that they that think themselves above the Ordinances of God, will never cordially submit to the Ordinances of Man. Religion among those that are zealous, is counted their chief interest, for this they will not stick to venture their Estates, their Reputation, and all that is dear unto them; so that their shall be neither Oath, nor Covenant, nor Promises, but this like the Pope, shall be alwaies ready, with some to give them a dispensation who 'tis feared, have too many among them of the Jesuits crew,

who

who will easily dispute them into this belief, that they do God good service, (when occasion shall serve) to keep no faith with you, whom they esteem as Heretiques.

Men of different principles, can never unite at the heart, though with flattering Lips, and a double Tongue, they may speak every one to his Neighbour, yet they will discover themselves in their proper seasons.

Divide not the victory with them, who would fain get a hank upon the Government, not that they intend to be with you any longer, then under your shadow, and present protection; they may provide for themselves, and their friends safety, till in time they may grow up, to over-top you again, (as ill weeds grow apace) What ever leaves they may now put forth, their naturall fruits will not bear proportion to.

And now I hope, having known what it is to be kept out of the house your selves, and having made such bitter complaints against them that were your Disturbers; Now I say, I hope you will pitty your brethren of the Long Parliament, and not do to them, as you would not have others do unto you: Though they are not *Majores natu*, yet they are *Majores numero*, to whom the birth right, in the naturall course of the Law, undoubtedly belongeth. The very essence of former Parliaments, and what is it indeed among your selves? what is it among every private Committee, or meeting of men of Authority, that challengeth to it selfe the Authority of doing, without any contradiction; but the greater number: till you acknowledge your backslidings in full, as the Army did theirs but in part, and call in the Major part of the house, as they did the Minor part onely, till your Repentance be unfained, and your Reformation perfect, you will never be established in the peoples *Love*, and what security can you have in the peoples *Fear?* which must be maintained by the power of an Armies inconstancy, who can with the same breath, both blesse, and curse their Masters.

God hath set you once more in your places, it may be, to see if you will set others in theirs also. Remember your Repentance in the day of your distresse; There were some of you, when the Army had turned you out, condemned your selves for not taking the rest of your fellow Members in.

in. As the Army gave you that Opportunity, to see your faults, so God hath now given you his opportunity, wherein you may mend them.

Do not then falsly imagine your selves at your journies end, nor take up your rest in your imperfect number; but know that you are not set up as the summary end, and perfection of Government, but onely as a fit opportunity, and probable way, wherein a more perfect Government may be obtained and established; which, as it is your duty to endeavour to effect, so it will be your chiefest glory to bring to Perfection.

ffeb: 1659

FINIS.